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Wickramasinghe for reading Chapter xxv, dealing with the language; and to Mr. H. N. Webber for help, especially in the revision of the genealogical tables. 128

Most of the illustrations in the book are from photographs taken under my direction by Messrs. Wiele and Klein of Madras, and I am indebted to H.M. India Office for permission to make use of illustrations from the late Colonel Marshall's work *Travels Amongst the Todas.* 126

W. H. R. R.

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# PHONETIC SYSTEM

126

THE following is the phonetic system which has been used in this book. The use of many of the signs is more fully described in Chapter XXV.

*Vowels.*

*ä*, the a of father.
*a*, the u of hut.
*ă*, the a of hat.
*é*, the ei of their.
*e*, the e of met.
*ī*, the ee of meet.
*i*, the i of hit.
*ô*, the o of post.
*o*, the o of pot.
*ŏ*, the o of word.
*ô*, the aw of law.
*ū*, the oo of moon.
*u*, the u of full.
*ü*, the German vowel.
*ai*, the i of bite.
*au*, the ou of house.
*ei*, the a of date.
*eu*, the French diphthong.
*oi*, the oy of boy.

*Consonants.*

*b*, as in English.
*ch*, the ch of church.
*d*, used in the text for the English sound and also for the lingual consonant *ḍ*.[1]
*f*, as in English.
*g*, the g of sing.
*gg*, the g of finger.
*gh*, the ch of ich.
*h*, used for a sound of doubtful nature (see p. 611).
*j*, as in English.
*k*, as in English.
*kh*, the ch of auch.
*l*, used in the text for the English sound and for the lingual consonant *ḷ*.

[1] One of the most frequent consonantal sounds in the Toda language is *dr* which in the text always stands for *ḍr*; when *d* comes before *sh*, it also represents the lingual sound. In both cases the *ḍ* was hardly appreciated by my ear, and the European will perhaps most nearly imitate the Toda sound if he pronounces *dr* and *dsh* as *r* and *sh*.

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126 *m*, as in English.
*n*, as in English.
*ñ*, a nasal n, as in French.
*p*, *r*, as in English.
*s*, a sound resembling the English s.
*sh*, as in English.
*t*, as in English and also for the lingual *ṭ*.
*th* the th both of though and throw.
*v*, *w*, as in English.
*z*, the z of zeal.
*zh*, the si of occasion.

Sounds represented by *ch*, *s*, *sh*, and *th*, very frequently inserted euphonically in Toda words, have usually been omitted. I have also omitted the signs showing the long vowels whenever a word occurs frequently throughout the book, and the glossary should be consulted to ascertain the correct method of pronouncing such words. Similarly, Appendices III and IV should be consulted to ascertain the proper pronunciation of the names of places and plants.

I do not use the plurals of Toda words, either in the English form or in that proper to the Toda language; thus, I write "the two *palol*" and not "the two *palols*" or "the two *palolam*."

## MAP.

102 The names printed in the same type as KÂRS are those of Toda villages; the names in italics, as *Nanjanad* are those of Badaga villages; the names in small black type, as Ootacamund are those of towns with a general population, or of *dâk* bungalows.

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the true Toda language than anyone who has written since, and he ascribed two-thirds of the Toda vocabulary to Tamil and was unable to trace the remaining third to any other language. Caldwell[1] believed the language of the Todas to be most closely allied to Tamil. According to Pope[2] the language was originally old Canarese with the addition of a few Tamil forms, but he has included in his vocabulary words which have probably been borrowed from the Badagas.

The linguistic material which I have collected is far more extensive than that which was available at the time Pope wrote his sketch, and though the material is in one way less satisfactory since it has been collected after thirty more years of Toda intercourse with the outside world, it is in another way more satisfactory than any previous material in that by far the larger part of it is derived from the formulæ used in the religious ceremonies and in magic. It is, of course, well known that an ancient language may linger on in religious and magical formulæ long after it has disappeared from ordinary speech, and when I discovered how many of these formulæ were preserved by the Todas, I made a point of collecting as many as possible in the hope that they might preserve relics of the ancient speech of the Todas.

In collecting this material I suffered under grave disadvantages; firstly in not being a phonologist, and secondly, in my ignorance of any Dravidian language. I had had, however, a fairly large experience in taking down unwritten languages phonetically, and, whatever the errors into which I have fallen, I hope that they are consistent throughout my record. As a matter of fact, I find my spelling to be fairly constant, words taken down from different individuals and on different occasions being written in the same way.

From one point of view my ignorance of Dravidian languages is not an unmixed evil. When anyone hears a language which is allied to one he knows, it is almost impossible to avoid being influenced by this knowledge. This

[1] *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 557.

[2] *Outlines of the Toda Grammar* appended to Marshall's *Phrenologist among the Todas*.

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114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

[1] London, 1868.

[2] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

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themselves. I have already pointed out that the great majority of the names of Toda places and institutions which have been recorded by previous writers are the Badaga names and not the Toda names, and, as might have been expected, many Badaga words have found their way into previously published Toda vocabularies.

In my own work my procedure was to take down a sentence first through the interpreter, then to go through the words of the sentence one by one asking the Toda to say each word carefully, and often he had to repeat it many times before I could satisfy myself about the nature of the sounds. Often I would get a second or third Toda to say the word, and I have frequently spent many minutes over one word, and have perhaps then been baffled in my attempts to write the word satisfactorily.

I noticed continually that the Toda words as pronounced by my interpreters were quite different in sound from those which came from the mouths of the Todas themselves. This was especially the case with the vowels, and in the addition of the initial *y*, so well known in the Tamil pronunciation of English. So far as I could detect, there was no trace of this initial *y* in Toda, although it occurs occasionally in some of the previously recorded Toda vocabularies.

These differences between the pronunciation of my interpreter and that of the Todas may often be the source of inconsistencies in my record, for on some occasions, owing to lack of time, I was unable to listen carefully to the Todas themselves, and had to content myself with the words given to me by the interpreter.

## PHONETICS

In order to indicate the sounds of the Toda language, I have kept as closely as possible to the generally recognised system in use in India, but have been obliged to adopt many more signs than those usually employed.

The vowel sounds which I distinguished were very numerous. The following vowels and diphthongs certainly occurred:

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126 194 *å, a, ä, ę, e, ę, i, ô, o, ö, ò, û, u, ü, ai, au, ei, eu, oi.*[1] I am doubtful, however, whether in some cases a distinction between two sounds was not due to individual differences of pronunciation or to dialectical differences. This is almost certainly the case with the distinction between *ai* and *oi*. Some other cases which are more complex may be considered in detail.

*A*, *ò*, and *o*. The first two sounds are often interchanged with one another. There is no doubt that the usual *å* of some Dravidian languages becomes *ò* in Toda, as in the change from *nåḍ* to *nòdr*, and most previous writers have regarded this change as constant, and have used the sign *å* for the sound which the Todas undoubtedly pronounce like the *aw* of the English word 'law.' I should much have liked to follow their example, and by so doing could have avoided the introduction of a new sign for the Toda sound, a sound for which there appears to be no generally recognised symbol in the phonetic systems used by anthropologists. I could not do so, however, because the Todas sometimes use the true *å* sound. There are certain words which are always pronounced with exactly the same sound as in the English word 'father,' and I never heard these words pronounced otherwise. In some cases there is a definite reason why this should be so. Thus the Toda word for 'again' is *mår*, and I never heard this word uttered otherwise than as I have written it. If it had undergone the common transformation it would have become *mòr*, the *ti* word for buttermilk, and in one case at least there would have been occasion for misunderstanding, for one of the salt-giving ceremonies is called *mårup* or 'again salt,' while another is called *mòrup* or 'buttermilk salt.' The syllable also occurs in the words *påtatmår* and *ertatmår*, and is never pronounced in these words otherwise than as I have written it. On the other hand, there are certain words in which the sound is always that of *ò*, and in other cases the two sounds are undoubtedly interchanged, and in the latter case I have usually adopted the spelling in *å*. A good example of this is *pårs* or *pòrs*, milk, for which

[1] For equivalents of these signs in English words see the Phonetic System at the beginning of the book.

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I have throughout adopted the former spelling, though it is quite as often called *pòrs*. 126 194

The *ò* is often shortened into *o*, and this is especially the case with the word for 'man.' The general Dravidian form of this word is *ål*, but in Toda it becomes *òl* or *ol* (which I write as *ol*), and in compound words, such as *palol* and *wursol*, it is always, or nearly always, pronounced so as to be indistinguishable from the *o* of the English word 'olive.' The long *ò* is not a very frequent sound in Toda.

*A and ä.* The sign *a* is used, in accordance with the general Indian practice, for the sound of the English word 'hut,' one of the commonest of Toda sounds. It is undoubtedly interchanged sometimes with the sound of the English word 'hat,' for which I use the sign *ä*. In such cases of interchange, I use the sign *a* in preference, but when I always heard the *ä* sound, I have used it. It seemed to me that this sound was especially frequent in proper names, as in that of the village Pärn and in such words as Kän.

*Ô and u.* These are used for the sounds of the words 'moon' and 'full,' and both are of frequent occurrence. The short form seems occasionally to be changed into *a*; thus, the word *mun* means 'maternal uncle,' but the word for 'sister's son' is *manmokh*. This is a good instance of the value of vowel sounds in Toda; the *mankugh* is the sister's daughter, but the *munkugh* is the name of the daughter of a maternal uncle. The two words which resemble one another so closely have two very different meanings, those of niece and cousin.

*Ê and ei.* I use *ê* for the sound of the *ei* in the English word 'their.' *Ei* is the sign which I use for the long *ä* of the English word 'date.' A sound for which I often use this sign is one which gave me a great deal of trouble. In it the vowel sound is prolonged so as to form almost a dissyllable, and in my earlier records I wrote it *êe*, the first *ê* having the sound of the *ei* in 'their.' I decided later to use *ei*, though I acknowledge it is not at all a satisfactory representation of the sound I heard.

*I.* The only point on which I have to remark about this sound is that it is sometimes prolonged so as to become a dissyllable as in the example already mentioned. In one

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126 194 case, the word *mtis*, used in the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, this prolongation of the sound is so marked and so constant that I have preserved a record of it in the spelling, but in most cases I have been content to indicate it by *t* only.

*Eu and ö.* I use the former sign for a sound which seemed to me very much like the French *eu*. It often resembled very closely the German *ö*, and in some cases, as in that of the word for the numeral *7*, I was doubtful which was the right sign. The sound for which I use *eu* is, however, more prolonged, and approaches a dissyllable. It occurs in the most definite form in the word for god, *teu*. This is undoubtedly derived from the Sanscrit '*deva*' in general use in Southern India, and it is therefore very interesting that this word, which has become '*Dieu*' in French, should have become the very similar *teu* in the Toda language.

*U, ü,* and *i.* The *ü* sound, almost exactly like that of the German language, was common, though in many cases I was doubtful whether to write *u, ü,* or *i.* Thus it was difficult to say whether the word for bow was *purs, pürs,* or *pirs*; the last named would bring it in line with general Dravidian orthography, but the first seemed to me the most frequent, and I have therefore adopted it.

*Ai* and *oi.* The sound *ai* is not very frequent in Toda, and when it occurs is often on the way to *oi.* Thus the *naim* or council was often *noim*, and *mogai* and *mogoi* were said indifferently.

I had very much difficulty in writing the consonants, being especially troubled by my lack of familiarity with linguals. The following were those which I heard:—*b, ch, d, ḍ, f, g, gg, gh, h, j, k, kh, l* and *ḷ, m, n, ṇ, p, r, s, sh, t, th, v, w, z, zh.*

In the text of the book I have not attempted to distinguish the lingual consonants, and I have also omitted the very common euphonic insertions, especially of *ch, sh,* and *th.*

*B, p, v, w,* and *f.* The sound expressed by *b* was heard very rarely, and I am doubtful whether it really occurs in true Toda. It is a common letter in Badaga, but when a Badaga word is pronounced by the Todas, the letter usually becomes *p.* In a few words I had much difficulty in making up my mind whether a given sound was *b* or *p*, and this was especially

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the case with the word *kudupel* or *kudubel*, which is probably a Badaga word. 126 194

One of the most frequent consonants in Toda is *p*, which often changes into *v*, especially when *p* is the initial letter of the latter part of a compound word; thus the word *pet* or wand in *pôkpet* became *pôkvet*, *kugpali* became *kugvali*, and *nedrpol*, *nedrvol*. Occasionally *p* would become a distinct *w*, as in the name of the flower *kargwûv* for *kargpûv*.

The letter *f* undoubtedly occurs in Toda, though not very frequently. It is sometimes changed into *v*, but in some cases, as in the name of the ancient village Kusharf, I never heard any sound other than a distinct *f*. I did not hear *f* and *p* interchanged.

As already mentioned, the letter *w* may occasionally occur as a variant of *p* or *v*, but it also occurs in words where it is never interchanged with either of these letters. The most frequent example of the occurrence of the letter is in the word *wursol*, and here the sound was so elusive that for a long time I hesitated whether to write the word as *wursol* or *ursol*. Breeks wrote this word *varzhol*, and we may take it that he distinctly recognised the initial letter as allied to *v* and *p*.

*D*, *d*, *t*, *th*. I have used the sign *d* for two sounds in the text. One I could not distinguish from the English sound expressed by this letter. It is sometimes the representative of *nd* of Badaga, *mand* or village becoming *mad* in Toda,[1] while the Badaga form of Pidati is Benduti. The *d* of other Dravidian languages often becomes *t* in Toda, thus *pandava* becomes *pateva*, and the Teivaliol almost certainly derive their name from some form of the word *deva*.

More frequently, however, *d* is used for the lingual consonant *ḍ*, which is one of the commonest sounds in Toda. Very often this letter is immediately followed by the letter *r*, and the combination *ḍr* (which in the text of the book I have written *dr*) is an extremely frequent sound. Often to my ear it was quite indistinguishable from the simple *r*, and usually I had to refer to my interpreter to know whether a given sound was *ḍr* or *r*. Neither of my interpreters

[1] *Mad*, or more usually *madth*, is also the Toda word for churn, and this word is probably derived indirectly from the Sanscrit *mantha*.

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126 194 seemed ever to be in any doubt, and they were so consistent on this point that wherever this spelling occurs it is probably correct. So far as I can tell the *ḍr* is the representative of *ḍ* in other Dravidian languages; thus, *nâd* of Canarese becomes *nòḍr*, and the *kêdu* of Badaga becomes *kêḍr*. On reference to the list of Badaga and Toda names of villages given in Appendix III. it will be seen that the *ḍr* of the Todas is usually the equivalent of the Badaga *ḍ*, Telkodu becoming Telkudr, and Kudimal becoming Kudrmas.

The sound which I express by *dr* has been very variously spelt by previous writers; thus, the Toda future world has been written *Humanorr* or *Omnorr* by Harkness, *Amunâd* by Breeks, *Amnôr* by Marshall and Pope, and *Amnor* by Thurston, and the sacred plant *tudr* has been written *tûd*, *tûde*, *tiurr*, *tûre* and *tûr*.

When the sound *ḍ* occurs before letters other than *r*, I am afraid I may have often omitted it. Thus till nearly the end of my visit I wrote the word *teḍshk* as *teshk*, and the name of the village *Teḍshteiri* as *Teshteiri*, and I have little doubt that this letter, the presence of which I had so much difficulty in recognising, may have been omitted in other cases.

There seems to be no doubt that *ḍr* and *t* might sometimes be interchangeable. Thus the termination of personal names, *kûtan* seemed to be the same word as *kûḍr*. A horn is *kûḍr* and imitation-horns are *kûter*. An assembly is *kût*, and the corresponding verb is *kûḍriti* (3rd person singular). Sometimes *ḍr* becomes *rt*; thus the word *kêḍr* becomes *kêrt* in the compound word *kêrtnòdr*, and the names of the clans Kuuḍr and Pieḍr often become Kuurt and Piert in the words Kuurtol and Piertol.

I failed to distinguish between *t* and *ṭ*, and it is probable that my *t* includes both letters. My interpreters used the sign *th* for *ṭ*, as is common in the transliteration of missionaries and others in India, and I am afraid that in a few cases my *th* should stand for the lingual *ṭ*. It is very unfortunate that *th* should be used for *ṭ*, for the true *th* not only occurs among the Todas but is a very frequent consonant. It is frequently inserted euphonically in words which are at other times pro-

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nounced without it, and this is especially the case in connexion with the letter *l*. The consonant *th* also occurs frequently apart from any other consonant, in such words as *pûthi*, *pathanmul*, &c.

I think it probable that under the sign *th* I have included two sounds, that of the English word 'though' and that of 'throw,' but I could not make up my mind whether the two sounds were definitely distinguished. The softer sound is undoubtedly the more common, and often it seemed to me to be even softer than this sound is ever heard in English.

*K*, *kw*, *g*, *kh*, *gh*, *h*. Perhaps the commonest Toda consonant is *k*, which often becomes *kw*, and it seemed to me that the two were sometimes interchanged, *kûḍr* becoming *kwûḍr*, &c.

The consonant *g* is less frequently heard, but *kûḍr*, especially as the termination of the names of men and places, is often pronounced *gûḍr*, and it seemed to me that this pronunciation is somewhat more common among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The sound *g* occurs very definitely, sometimes at the ends of words as in the names of villages, as in Kwirg and Perg, and in the word *kug*, and in these cases there is no doubt that it is a true Toda consonant.

The sounds which I have expressed by *kh* and *gh* are fairly common, though I do not feel quite confident that the two sounds are definitely distinguished from one another. I heard them very frequently in the words *mokh* and *kûgh*, and it certainly seemed to me that the final sound of the latter was always softer than that of the word *mokh*. When one or other of these sounds occurs at the end of a word, it is probable that I have in some cases omitted to notice it. A man named Perpakh was called by me Perpa till nearly the end of my visit, and it is probable that I made similar errors which were not detected. Similarly *kh* in the middle of a word may easily escape attention, and this has probably happened in some cases.

I also had much trouble about a sound occurring at the end of a word for which I have used the sign *h*. Its chief

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126 194 occurrence is in the word *pôh*, and the same or a closely similar sound sometimes occurs in the middle of the word *pali*. The word *pôh* has usually been written *boath*, following Marshall, or *boa* (Breeks). The word certainly often sounded like a dissyllable, but I was doubtful whether this was anything more than the prolongation of vowels to which I have already referred in the case of *ei* and *i*. There is some kind of consonantal sound at the end of the word, but it is certainly not the ordinary *th* nor is it *kh*, and I have adopted *h* as the nearest equivalent though I recognise that it is not the right sign.

*R, l.* I have already considered the letter *ṛ* in connexion with *ḍ*, but it also occurs frequently by itself. At the end of a word it is sometimes distinctly rolled. When used after a short vowel, as in such a word as *persin*, it was sometimes not easy for me to detect its presence, and occasionally it is possible that I have omitted it from words in which it should occur.

The letter *l* is of fairly frequent occurrence, but has certainly often been lost in Toda in words which contain it in other Dravidian languages; thus the word *kīl*, lower. inferior, becomes *kī* in Toda, though the *l* has been retained in *meil* or *mel*, meaning upper or superior.

There are almost certainly two different *l* sounds in Toda which I failed to distinguish definitely. I have written the word for dairy *pali*, but the second consonant of the word is certainly a different sound from that of the *l* in *meil*, and is probably the representative of the *ḷ* of Tamil. It is in connexion with this letter that the euphonic *th* is so often inserted, and I believe that the proper name for a Toda dairy is *paṯhḷi*. When this *l* occurs at the end of a word, it is sometimes hardly audible, and to my ear bears a very close resemblance to the French *i*. The end of the word Kudreiil seemed to me to be pronounced almost exactly like the end of Auteuil.

It appears that *r* and *l* may sometimes pass into one another; thus, the name of the bow and arrow ceremony is *pursütpimi*, but the buffalo given on this occasion is called *pulkwadr*.

*M and n.* The letters *m* and *n*, indistinguishable to my

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



ear from the corresponding English letters, are of frequent occurrence. They are, however, often omitted in the Toda forms of Tamil or Canarese words; thus, as we have already seen, the word *mand*, village, becomes the Toda *mad*; the Tamil *ambu*, arrow, becomes *ab*; and the Toda form of Kurumba is *Kûrub*.

The *n* may also disappear from the Toda names of villages when it exists in their Badaga names; thus Tarnard becomes Taradr and Korangu, Kwirg. The omission of the letter *n* and other changes which words undergo in Toda are very well shown in the word *padjpateva*, which is the Toda form of the *Panchpandavas*. Although my ear failed to separate the *n* of the Todas from the English *n*, it is probably different and represents the *ṉ* of Tamil.

In addition to the ordinary *n* the Todas have another consonant which is extremely like the final French *n* for which I have used the sign *ñ*. The sound only occurs in certain exclamations or greetings; the *Oñ* which occurs so frequently in the dairy ritual is pronounced in this way, and so is *bañ*, which is uttered by the *palol* as a greeting to the Tartharol. The sound also occurs in the various kinship greetings. The commonest of these, *tioñ*, offered to an elder brother, is a corruption of *itian*, but I never heard the nasal pronunciation when the word *an* or *anna* was uttered in the ordinary way. In this case the sound I have expressed by *n* is undoubtedly the letter *ṉ* of Tamil, this word being *aṉṉa* in that language.

*S, sh, z, zh, dz, j.* The sound for which I have used the letter *s* is a somewhat harsh sound, harsher, I think, than is heard in English, but much like the sound which I have heard in English words pronounced by Scottish Highlanders. Breeks wrote *zh* for this sound, but I have used this sign for a different sound which was exactly like the *si* in the English word 'occasion.' It occurs not uncommonly in Toda in such words as *push*, earth, and in the verbal form *kaishvat*.

The sound *z* occurs frequently. I was often doubtful whether to write *dz* or *z*, especially at the ends of personal names, and in other cases what was obviously the same termination was pronounced more like *dj*; thus I was often

1. Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



126 doubtful whether to write the name Piliodz in this way or as
194 Pilioz or Piliodj (the three English equivalents would be the sounds of Dods, Boz and Dodge).

The sounds *s* and *sh* are often inserted euphonically; thus, the name Kuriolv is as often as not pronounced Kursiolv, and, more rarely, Kurshiolv.

## Sacred Language

192 There are three varieties of sacred language in use among
198 the Todas. There is the *kwarzam*, the word or clause used in prayer and other sacred formulæ; secondly, there are certain words and phrases peculiar to the *ti* dairy, and thirdly, there are certain words called by the Todas, *teu* language, which are only used in the legends of the gods.

The *kwarzam* is used especially for the names of gods, persons or objects used in the first portions of the prayers. It is also used in the magical formulæ and in the funeral laments, but it may be that the last use is only due to an extension of the strict meaning of the term. When I began to collect the prayers, I hoped that the *kwarzam* might turn out to belong to some ancient and otherwise forgotten language, but their general nature is evidently the same as that of other Toda words. The *kwarzam* arises either by a slight modification of a name in ordinary use or as a phrase recording some historical or mythical incident.

I give here a short list of *kwarzam* which, with a few exceptions, have not occurred elsewhere. The following are the *kwarzam* of the Tarthar clans:—

The Nödrsol, *Nödrstharkûtthars*; the Karsol, *Kârstharkunnadrpêdr*; the Panol, *Pandârpeshdthvaimokh*; the Taradrol, *Pülkudutharpeithar*; the Keradrol, *Kerâdrtharkerâdrkûtan*; the Kanödrsol, *Munantharpinnantho*; the Kwödrdoniol, *Adutharathiars*; the Pämol, *Pämûtharkathar*; the Melgarsol, *Narzthar*. The *kwarzam* of the Kuudrol is *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu* (see p. 101), but the other Teivali clans have no such special names.

The only one of the above, of which the meaning is quite

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda



CHAP. XI.

it is advisable to mention, that although as much patient care was taken to collect the evidence it contains, with the same accuracy as that bestowed on the Census, yet there are reasons why it could not be attained. For the latter purpose the people were nearly all present; whereas in the process of collecting statistics, dependence had, in the main, to be placed on the statement of uneducated people describing births and deaths, many of which took place long years before. Supposing even they remembered in all cases the number of each sex that died, they would still have to represent their own notions of the ages at which they did so, and the period that had elapsed since those events happened. All, therefore, that can with confidence be asserted, is, that the best was done in the face of these inevitable difficulties to eliminate error.

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For instance—and one will suffice—if it was required to ascertain the particulars of a child who had died. The mother was present; the husband also sat close by. Some relations also present, had a wife, or husband, or child, as the case might be, who had been a playfellow of the departed. Or the child was said by its mother to have been either so much older or so much younger than one standing before us.

For the sake of those who wish to utilise the statistics, Table No. 5 has been compiled from Table No. 4[1] which will render it easy to extract the most valuable points of information.

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In order to obtain reliable data on which to base deductions as to Toda nature and Toda progress, it seems a matter sufficiently important, to record with all the exactness that available information admits of, certain averages relative to the size of families, and the ages at which their women commence and also leave off child-bearing. The details of these points of information, collated from Tables No. 4 or 5, will, therefore, be found tabulated in Nos. 6 and 7 Tables. A point has been made, not to omit any of the instances of Table 4 or 5, that might prove of value; only the women in child-marriages, or those who having lately married, have not yet given birth to progeny, have been left out.

1 [Table No 4 appears on pp 112-113 Category 116 or 162 --Analyst]

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60



601 561 114 [576] Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as ego. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as ego. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is ko·ɨ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, ego·ɨ or en-go·ɨ "my friend" (in address -ɛ3 is added), nun-go·ɨ "your friend," an-go·ɨ or tan-go·ɨ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193] When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocɔ·ɨjɔ·ɪ, eningo·ɨjɔ·ɪ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of these songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

[114] [126]

[601] [561]

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in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister forms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as ego the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[6] Rivers, pp. 496–98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of ego is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper The Songs of the Todas (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–60, 1937), especially pp. 545–49.

[114] [9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526–29.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60



song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song pi̯ɲɪr (Piliar, 32) and merṇɪs (Mudriners, 57) sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In another sindɪrp (Śintharap), wife of kʊ̈ɪsja̯ff (Kuriolv, 32), and kɔsɐr (Kosar, 57) sang; these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: tæ·ðjɪæm, son of sirjɔɪr (Siriar, 30), and tʊ̈ʊ̈ʊ̈ɪ, son of tɔɪkɔs (Tokaa) and pʊnʊr (Puner, 23); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter ejɪ "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers—the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ɐʊo's generation (with the qualification made in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ɐʊo's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in address. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., mɑn-mɔx "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ɐʊo" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and mɑn-gʊɪx "daughter, etc." may be replaced by en-okng-fæ·ɪdfoj-mɔx "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," en-ʊ̈ʊ̈r-fed-mɔnk-fæ·ɪdfoj-xʊɪx "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference mɔ̈ɔ̈ɲj "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ɐʊo's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (en-in-mɔ̈ɔ̈ɲj "my father's cross-cousin," en-af-mɔ̈ɔ̈ɲj "my mother's cross-

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]



not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air.

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the on-looking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar.

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.)

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me.

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam [854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her [276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said 776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen [125] such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

159 Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to [868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh, wursol* and even *kalmokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be- [834] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while [614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konorj.